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FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON RWANDA

INTRODUCTION

1. By its resolution 846 (1993) of 22 June 1993, the Security Council, inter alia, urged the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) to conclude quickly a comprehensive peace agreement. It also requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the results of the Arusha peace talks as well as on the contribution the United Nations could make to assist the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the implementation of the peace agreement and to begin contingency planning in the event that the Council decided such a contribution was needed.

2. The peace agreement between the Government of Rwanda and RPF was signed in Arusha on 4 August 1993 (see sect. II below).

3. It will be recalled that, in my interim report of 20 May 1993 (S/25810 and Add.1), I had indicated that I would submit a report to the Council on the goodwill mission that I had sent to the region from 2 to 19 March 1993, as well as on the outcome of the consultations that had been undertaken with OAU in pursuance of paragraph 2 of resolution 812 (1993), after the conclusion of the Arusha peace talks.

I. THE GOODWILL MISSION

4. Following consultations of the Security Council on 24 February 1993 on the situation in Rwanda, I decided to send a goodwill mission to Rwanda and Uganda to assist me in making recommendations to the Security Council on the peace process. On 22 February, the Governments of Rwanda and Uganda had called for the deployment of United Nations military observers along their common border (S/25355 and S/25356).

5. The goodwill mission, which was led by Mr. Macaire Pédanou, former Director in the Department of Political Affairs, visited the region from 4 to 19 March 1993. In addition to Rwanda and Uganda, the mission visited Dar-es-Salaam and Addis Ababa for consultations with the Facilitator and the Coordinator of the Arusha peace talks respectively.

6. The mission held consultations with the Government of Rwanda from 4 to 9 March 1993. It met, in Kigali, with President Habyarimana, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and the Minister of Defence. It also travelled to the region of Byumba in the northern part of the country, where it met with the representatives of RPF, and visited the Katuna border post with Uganda.

7. In Rwanda, the mission also visited two camps of displaced persons. It was informed that the population of the displaced persons in the country was estimated at 900,000. In discussions with the mission, the Rwandese parties urged the international community to provide the necessary assistance to ameliorate the plight of the displaced persons and to facilitate their return to their villages. Taking these developments into account, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs led an inter-agency mission to Rwanda from 18 to 25 March 1993 to prepare a consolidated appeal of US$ 78 million to meet the needs of 900,000 displaced persons from April to December 1993. The appeal was launched in Geneva on 15 April 1993.

8. During its visit to Rwanda, the goodwill mission also met with members of the OAU Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG) which was monitoring and supervising the implementation of the cease-fire that had come into force in July 1992. The mission was informed that NMOG comprised 10 army officers each from Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe, as well as 5 officers each from the Rwandese and the RPF armies. The discussions with senior officials of NMOG focused on cooperation between the United Nations and OAU, the role of an expanded NMOG and the assistance that it would require from the international community with respect to the mandate entrusted to it.

9. The mission exchanged views with the parties on the military situation, including the cease-fire, as well as on the respective roles they envisaged for the United Nations and OAU in the process. While the parties agreed on the need for deployment of an international force to assist in the implementation of the peace agreement and related transitional arrangements, they were not in complete agreement, at that time, on the roles of the United Nations and OAU.

10. On 7 March 1993, while the goodwill mission was still in Rwanda, the Government of Rwanda and RPF agreed in Dar-es-Salaam to cease hostilities starting on 9 March 1993 at midnight and to resume the peace talks in Arusha on 15 March 1993 (S/25385). On 12 March 1993, the Security Council adopted resolution 812 (1993), by which it welcomed my decision to send a goodwill mission to the region. The Council also invited me to examine, in consultation with OAU, the contribution that the United Nations could bring to strengthen the peace process in Rwanda, in support of its ongoing efforts. By the same resolution, the Security Council welcomed the Dar-es-Salaam agreement of 7 March 1993, and urged the Government of Rwanda and RPF to resume the negotiations on 15 March, as agreed.

11. The goodwill mission visited Kampala from 10 to 13 March 1993, and held consultations with President Museveni and with senior officials of his Government, within the framework of the Dar-es-Salaam agreement and Security Council resolution 812 (1993). It also met with the representatives of RPF in Kampala. President Museveni welcomed the Dar-es-Salaam agreement and confirmed his willingness to welcome observers on the Ugandan side of the border in order

to demonstrate that his country was not providing military assistance or personnel to RPF.

12. The goodwill mission then visited the United Republic of Tanzania from 13 to 15 March 1993. In Dar-es-Salaam, it met with President Mwinyi and senior officials of the Government who briefed them on the role of the United Republic of Tanzania as Facilitator of the Arusha peace process and confirmed that the peace talks would resume in Arusha on 15 March 1993.

13. During its visit to Addis Ababa, from 17 to 19 March 1993, the mission met with Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of OAU, to exchange views on cooperation between the United Nations and OAU, within the context of the Dar-es-Salaam agreement and Security Council resolution 812 (1993). Mr. Salim recalled that the parties to the Dar-es-Salaam agreement had asked him to extend the mandate of NMOG and to expand it. He informed the mission about the efforts he was making to that end and requested the assistance of the United Nations. Following exchanges of communications on this matter, I sent to Addis Ababa two senior officials with the necessary expertise to provide technical assistance to OAU to finalize a submission to the donor community for the funding of an expanded NMOG (see S/25810, para. 22).

14. As indicated in my interim report to the Security Council (S/25810), I sent a technical mission to Uganda and Rwanda, from 2 to 6 April 1993, which was led by my military adviser, Brigadier-General Maurice Baril to gather and evaluate all information relevant to the possible deployment of United Nations military observers on the Rwanda/Uganda border. The technical mission was joined in Uganda by Mr. Macaire Pédanou, the leader of the goodwill mission.

15. On 8 April 1993, I informed the Security Council that, taking into account developments concerning Rwanda, I had decided to strengthen the goodwill mission by the addition of three military advisers (S/25561).

II. THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS

16. The Arusha peace talks, which resumed on 16 March 1993, were successfully concluded on 3 August 1993. The agenda for the negotiations covered military issues, refugees and displaced persons and outstanding political matters including the amendment of the Constitution, as well as the duration of the transitional period. On the military side, the negotiations focused on the composition and size of the new army, including the representation of the armed forces of the Government and those of RPF in the new army. Other issues covered arrangements related to security services including the gendarmerie, demobilization and assistance required from the international community. The two parties also discussed the establishment of an international neutral force for the implementation of the peace agreement.

17. I was represented at the Arusha peace talks in an observer capacity by Mr. Macaire Pédanou, the leader of the goodwill mission. Mr. Pédanou was later joined by a military officer from the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, who provided technical advice on the military aspects of the negotiations.

18. During the meeting of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in Cairo in June, I had the opportunity to exchange views with the President of Rwanda and the Secretary-General of OAU on the situation in Rwanda and on the progress of the Arusha talks. We also discussed ways and means of assisting in the peace agreement, following its signature by the parties.

19. The Arusha peace agreement, including six protocols, was signed on 4 August 1993 by Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of Rwanda, and Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, Chairman of RPF. The signing ceremony took place in the presence of H.E. Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, in his capacity as the Facilitator, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of OAU and Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky, Under-Secretary-General and Director of the United Nations Office at Geneva, who represented me on that occasion. The signing ceremony was witnessed by the Presidents of Uganda and Burundi, the Prime Minister of Zaire, the representatives of the current and former Chairmen of OAU and of the observer countries to the Arusha talks, namely Belgium, Burundi, France, Germany, Nigeria, Uganda, the United States of America and Zimbabwe.

20. In signing the peace agreement, the two parties agreed that the war between them had come to an end and that they would spare no effort to promote national unity and reconciliation. They also agreed that all the six protocols of agreement which they had concluded and signed during the Arusha talks would be attached to the peace agreement, of which they would form an integral part. These documents are:

(a) The N'Sele cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1991, as amended in Gbadolite on 16 September and at Arusha on 12 July 1992;

(b) Protocol of Agreement on the rule of law, signed at Arusha on 18 September 1992, which defined the basic principles of Rwandese politics for the future, namely national unity, democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights;

(c) Protocols of agreement on power-sharing, signed at Arusha on 30 October 1992 and on 9 January 1993, by which the Government of Rwanda and RPF accepted the principle of sharing political power within the framework of a broad-based transitional Government with the participation of the main political parties;

(d) Protocol of agreement on the repatriation of refugees and the resettlement of displaced persons, signed at Arusha on 9 June 1993, which defined provisions for the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, as well as arrangements for a donors' conference to be jointly organized by OAU and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);

(e) Protocol of agreement on the integration of the armed forces of the two parties, signed at Arusha on 3 August 1993, which covered, among other things, the size, composition and ratio of the two parties in the new army, as well as the establishment of a neutral international force to oversee the transitional arrangements;

(f) Protocol of agreement on miscellaneous issues and final provisions signed at Arusha on 3 August 1993 by which the parties reached agreement on the appointment of the Prime Minister and the transitional period, which was set at 22 months.

III. RECONNAISSANCE MISSION

21. In a communication addressed to me on 3 August 1993, President Habyarimana reiterated the request that the Government of Rwanda and RPF had jointly addressed to me on 11 June 1993 to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda in order to assess the needs of the proposed international force (S/25951).

22. As envisaged by the two parties, a neutral international force would be deployed in Rwanda to monitor and supervise the cease-fire; secure the continued distribution of humanitarian assistance; and assist in the protection of the expatriate community and in the implementation of the provisions of the peace agreement pertaining to the demobilization and encampment of the belligerent forces, their retraining and integration to form a new national army.

23. In communications I addressed on 11 August 1993, to President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and the Chairman of RPF, Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, I stressed that it was now incumbent on all concerned to observe strictly the provisions of the peace agreement in order to ensure its implementation and to allow the people of Rwanda to advance national reconciliation as well as the rehabilitation and the reconstruction of their country.

24. In a communication addressed to me on 4 August 1993, the Secretary-General of OAU informed me that the mandate of the OAU NMOG, which had been supervising the implementation of the cease-fire agreement signed in Arusha in July 1992, had expired on 31 July 1993. NMOG was being replaced by NMOG II, whose mandate had commenced on 3 August 1993 and whose first contingent had arrived in Rwanda on 31 July 1993. More contingents from several OAU member States were expected to arrive in Rwanda as part of the OAU effort to constitute and deploy an enlarged NMOG as requested by the two parties. Mr. Salim stated that NMOG would continue to operate as an interim measure, pending the deployment of the neutral international force proposed by the parties.

25. I welcomed the decision of Mr. Salim that as an interim measure he would ensure that NMOG would continue to operate, pending a final determination by the Security Council on the establishment of the neutral international force, as well as on its role and responsibilities.

26. Taking into account the communications addressed to me by the President of Rwanda and the Secretary-General of OAU, and in pursuance of paragraph 11 of resolution 846 (1993), I decided to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda to make an assessment of the situation on the ground, in order to assist me in making recommendations to the Security Council. The mission, which is composed of officials from concerned departments, is led by Brigadier General Romeo A. Dallaire (Canada), Chief Military Observer of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNMUR). It arrived in Kigali on 19 August and is expected to stay there for up to two weeks in order to consult

with senior officials of the Government and with representatives of RPF on the implementation of the agreement within the framework of Security Council resolution 846 (1993). It will also meet with OAU representatives in Rwanda and with the members of its NMOG.

27. As I have indicated earlier, the Government of Rwanda and RPF have called for the establishment of a neutral international force, to facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the peace agreement. The reconnaissance mission will examine the possible functions of such a force and evaluate the human and financial resources that would be needed to carry them out. In addition to Rwanda, the senior officials of the mission will visit Dar-es-Salaam and Addis Ababa for consultations with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and with OAU, which acted as Facilitator and Coordinator, respectively, at the Arusha peace talks.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

28. The signing of the Arusha peace agreement has presented the Government of Rwanda and RPF with a political and democratic framework to resolve their conflict. The successful conclusion of the peace process will also provide the people of Rwanda with the opportunity to begin the reconstruction and rehabilitation of their country and would make it possible for nearly 1 million Rwandese refugees and internally displaced persons to return to their homes and to begin the arduous task of rebuilding their lives.

29. The Government of Rwanda and RPF should be commended for concluding the peace agreement. The United Republic of Tanzania's role as Facilitator was crucial to the success of the peace process as was that of the Secretary-General of OAU as Coordinator of the Arusha talks. A number of countries both within and outside the region, most notably Uganda, have also made positive contributions to the process. It is now incumbent on the Government of Rwanda and RPF to abide fully by the letter and spirit of the Arusha peace agreement.

30. On the basis of the findings of the reconnaissance mission, I shall submit a report to the Security Council regarding the contribution the United Nations could make to facilitate the implementation of the peace agreement.